

1964

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

A3639

## Cuba Today—Last of a Series

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with my remarks made earlier, I include the last installment of the Washington Star series on Cuba in the RECORD:

## CUBA TODAY—SOCIALISM BRINGS DESPAIR TO NATION

(By Bruce Taylor)

The people who run Cuba tell you that what is happening there today is "socialism with a cha-cha-cha." The inference, of course, is that life on the island is a gay affair.

It is difficult to conceive of anything more removed from the truth. Cuba is a nation of despair.

You see it in the incredible scenes of heartbreak when one or more members of a family who finally have been given authorization to leave the island are being seen off at Havana airport by those who must stay behind. They know they may never see each other again.

A Santa Clara man and his 4-year-old son, the only members of a family of seven who have been allowed to leave, have been waiting more than 2 years to get the exit visas for which the entire family applied. They must go now because it will be their only chance. They can only hope the others will be permitted to follow in time.

## STRIPPED OF POSSESSIONS

They are stripped of everything but the clothes on their backs. A pin of no value that belonged to the man's grandmother is taken from him, as is his tie bar. His watch is demanded. So is every last centavo in his pocket.

The little boy is afraid of the guard who is searching him. His only possession is a pocket comb and he cries when the guard takes it from him. He tries to retrieve it. The guard shoves him away.

The man says nothing. He has heard of people getting all the way to the plane, only to be dragged from their seats at the last moment. Nor does he say anything to anyone other than the boy while the plane is in flight.

He walks stiffly from the aircraft at Mexico City, holding his son close to him. The man is crying when he comes into the immigration area.

## USE GLOWING TERMS

Two people near him are talking. One is a self-described freelance writer from Canada's west coast. The other is a Belgian woman. They have come over from Cuba on the same flight, and are discussing Mr. Castro in glowing terms.

The man looks at them in disbelief. "You are Communists?" he asks in heavy accents. The woman smiles condescendingly. "Socialists."

"You are fools," the Cuban says. "Crazy fools." He takes his son to the other side of the room.

And you see despair in the eyes of the beautiful young mother of 22 who has become a prostitute in Havana in order to feed and clothe her 2-year-old daughter.

She knows she will go to jail if she is caught. Prostitution once was a flourishing industry in Cuba, but is outlawed now.

## FAMILY WAS WEALTHY

She comes from a family which was wealthy before the revolution, and is well educated. She was married in her teens to

a prosperous businessman from another Latin American country and went there to live with him. He died while she was pregnant. She wasn't really aware of what had happened to Cuba in her absence, and returned to Havana to be with her family when she gave birth. Now, she can't leave.

She has been able to buy only two pairs of shoes for her baby. She cut the toes out of them as the child grew. She says she has difficulty buying enough milk for her daughter, even on the black market. Twice the baby was sick, and she couldn't get a doctor.

Is prostitution the only answer?

She shrugs. "They know I am a gusano (a worm, someone opposed to the government) and will give me a menial job at the minimum pay of 85 pesos a month. It cost me more than that for food."

## DREAMS OF ESCAPE

She, like most other Cubans, cherishes a dream of escape. She says she belongs to a group which is planning to steal an airplane. She knows the penalty for even plotting such a scheme, but says she is not afraid.

"My daughter and I would be better off dead than have to live here," she says. "I will kill her before they can take her from me for one of their schools."

She speaks with such quite sincerity you believe her.

Cuba is controlled by a minority which has created the means of maintaining control. It performed a very necessary task 5 years ago, and set off on a patch of noble intentions. Along the way it went awry.

It wallows now in the eminence of its position. It takes for itself the best of whatever is available: The good cars, the good food, the good clothes, the good homes.

## EPITOME OF OPULENCE

Photographer Adrian Lunny and I spent 2 days and a night in Manzanillo at the home maintained for visiting party leaders. It was the very epitome of opulence. It had a swimming pool and huge, immaculately kept gardens. Its table setting would have done justice to a maharajah.

At our final dinner, one of our party leader hosts pushed away the remains of one of the finest meals I had ever shared, and leaned forward to wipe his mouth on the hem of the exquisite damask tablecloth.

"Well now," he asked, interrupting himself with a belch, "do you still believe the lies of the Yankee imperialists that there is a food shortage in Cuba?"

Across the street, other Cubans were coming home to their palm-thatched huts with their meager quota of rationed foodstuffs.

## YANKEE SCAPEGOAT

The "Yankee imperialists" are the convenient scapegoat for everything that goes wrong on the island. Mr. Castro runs his country like a crooked labor leader runs a union; he talks about all the wonderful things that are going to happen, uses force to beat down opposition, and tries to take his people's minds off what he is doing by keeping them angry at someone else.

In Mr. Castro's case, the target is the United States. It has been blamed for everything imaginable, including last year's failure of the tomatoes to grow.

Oddly enough, the Stars and Stripes are carried in all Cuban parades, and Cuban soldiers on the far side of the 3-mile-wide no man's land salute the flag when it is lowered every evening at the U.S. Guantanamo Naval Base.

Why?

"Because we aren't mad at the American people," explains an official in the Cuban Foreign Ministry. "We hate only their Government."

## TOLD PEOPLE ELECT

But it is the American people who elect the Government, he is told.

"That's a lie," he retorts. "The Government is elected by the capitalists and the monopolists. The people have no voice."

He believes it. Everyone who is close to Mr. Castro believes it. The entire population of Cuba is coming to believe it. Their propaganda tells them so.

It blares night and day from radios and sound trucks. Television is one continuous political harangue. Every available space on homes and buildings and streets is taken up by signs and banners. The country's newspapers are no more than propaganda sheets. They are subscribers to Tass news service and to Prensa Latina, a service which does little more than rewrite United Press International and Associated Press to conform with Cuba's political line.

We ran into two outstanding examples of this.

One was a story carried on the front pages of all newspapers in Cuba to the effect that Prime Minister Pearson virtually had told President Johnson to go fly a kite in the matter of Canada's continuing trade with Cuba. The stories indicated there had been a great deal of vituperation in Pearson's remarks, and quoted him at great length.

We were in Pinar del Rio at the time. A copy of a newspaper containing the story was shown to us by a government official who was very pleased. "Good for Canada," he said.

We learned from the Canadian Embassy when we returned to Havana, however, that all Mr. Pearson had done was answer "no" to a question by Opposition Leader Diefenbaker as to whether Canada was planning changes in its trade with socialist countries. There had been no mention of Cuba. The whole thing had been made up by an imaginative Prensa Latina hack on orders of the Cuban Government.

## CONCERNED DIRECTLY

The second example concerned me directly. Lunny and I were photographed when we arrived by air in Santiago. I told the reporter who interviewed me that we were on a tour of the country to see what changes had come about since I lived there in 1957, prior to the revolution. That was all.

The next day we were on the front page of the newspaper Sierra Maestra. Among other things, I was "quoted" about how impressed I had been by the May Day celebrations in Havana. And to top it off, the newspaper called me "el companero Taylor"—Comrade Taylor.

Mr. Castro's May Day parade does more to impress foreigners than Cubans. Propaganda ordering Habaneros to the parade begins to build up about 6 weeks before the event. It is intense in the week just prior to it.

## FEW DARE SHUN PARADE

Few dare shun it. As the marchers pass Mr. Castro's reviewing stand at the base of the towering monument to Jose Marti, the man who led Cuba's fight for independence from Fidel.

If you don't listen too closely, it sounds like: "Sieg hell, sieg hell."

The Cuban propaganda machine is aimed now at Havana's next big parade, July 26, to mark the 11th anniversary of the start of the Castro revolution.

The third big parade of the year is January 2. It commemorates the fall of the Batista government on New Year's Day 1959. It is held a day late to give the Cubans time to recover from their New Year's celebrations. This is the one in which Mr. Castro shows off his military strength.

Mr. Castro spends untold fortunes on internal propaganda. Cubans have learned to live with most of it, but some of it causes great bitterness.

## WOMEN ARE BITTER

Cuban women are unable to buy linen and other whitewear. There is little available in the stores. Yet, every time there is a parade or special event, tens of thousands of banners and streamers made of whitewear flutter out all over the country.

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July 1

Women, in fact, are among Mr. Castro's most dissatisfied subjects. They cannot buy things to make themselves pretty, as in the days of Batista.

The only stockings available to them are from East Europe, and are heavy and unattractive. Lipstick is hard to come by, and a \$2 cake of mascara sells for \$25 on the black market. Brassieres are sturdy, but hardly flattering. There is an acute shortage of razor blades, and the women are horrified by the prospect of being unable to control the growth of hair on their legs. Mr. Castro now wants them to stop wearing scanty bathing suits and the form-fitting sheath dresses that are their trademark.

Cuban women are among the most beautiful in the world, and are aware of it. They will abide all manner of shortages and inconvenience. But their pride is severely hurt now, and that is the one thing they will not accept.

It is the small things, far too numerous to chronicle in detail, which piled upon the continuing failures of Mr. Castro's major programs, have produced the great resentment toward, and growing lack of cooperation with, his government.

He now is preparing to nationalize the taxi industry, one of the very few remaining fields of free enterprise on the island. Almost all Cubans will be working directly for the state.

Cubans are not by nature self-sacrificing people. They are not at all pleased by the growing awareness they will never again revert to the over-all material well-being of pre-Castro days, and that everything now is projected in terms of succeeding generations.

## ALL RIGHT FOR OTHERS

"That was all right for the Russians and the Chinese," says a disgruntled former member of the Castro government still living, but precariously, in Havana. "They had nothing to begin with when they adopted communism.

"We had plenty. Now we have less." He went into the bathroom of my Capri Hotel room for a glass of water, and spewed it into the sink. It was sea water. The fresh water plumbing had broken down.

If there are two positive points of Mr. Castro's revolution, they are the education he has made available, and the increased sense of dignity he has brought to such people as the sugar workers who had been so cruelly exploited by the U.S. companies. They are no better off materially now, but at least they feel they no longer are serfs of foreigners.

## RETAINS LOYALTIES

Mr. Castro still maintains the loyalty of most youth, the army, a very small segment of the laboring class and, of course, his substantial number of government officials.

All others are opposed to him, including a proportionate number of the Negro third of the population, against whom official discrimination has been ended and to whom most miracles have been promised.

Mr. Castro is making ever louder threats against the United States. He warns now he will shoot down the U-2 reconnaissance planes which are of such great annoyance to him as soon as the Russians fulfill their promise to turn over control of their surface-to-air missiles to him.

His opponents in Cuba hope he will, indeed, shoot one down and that the action will trigger armed repercussion by the United States.

## SHORT OF AGGRESSION

However, for all his threats, Mr. Castro so far has stopped short of anything that might be considered an act of aggression. An example was his threat to take over the U.S. Embassy Building in Havana, now occupied by Swiss diplomats. The Swiss warned him of possible consequences, and he relented.

In total, the Cubans are in a quandary. Most hate Mr. Castro's system, and want it destroyed. But they know that the only way it can be destroyed is a full-scale invasion supported by the United States.

And they certainly do not want to revert to unrestricted U.S. exploitation.

Somewhere, they hope, is an answer.

## A Crisis of Legality

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, by July 4, Americans who are deeply committed to the ideals of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" for all, will witness a milestone in American history: the enactment of the long-awaited civil rights bill.

The problems we are now to face in implementing this great legislative achievement are enormous. The highly respected dean of Yale University Law School, Eugene V. Rostow, sees the problem revolving around the respect that the law will receive from the people antagonistic to it. We have had certain ideals for over 200 years and only now are we beginning to see our way clear to the fulfillment of them. Now we will take a giant step forward; we will have enacted a law to enforce these ideals. Are we mature enough to respect this law? These are the problems Dean Rostow poses, and the following article from the Anti-Defamation League Bulletin for June 1964 offers some profound insights into them:

## A CRISIS OF LEGALITY

(Equality cannot be achieved as long as law is resisted and contempt of court tolerated, says the dean of Yale Law School.)

(By Eugene V. Rostow)

It is characteristic of our outlook that we no longer give the Devil his due. In our hearts, we don't believe in the existence of evil. We tend to think that evil is really antisocial behavior, to be explained as neurosis, and cured by social workers, or, in serious cases, by psychiatrists.

Mankind used to have more respect for evil. Milton knew how attractive it is, and so did Goethe. Less sophisticated artists have vividly portrayed the necessity for man to wrestle with devils if he wished to achieve good. And they knew that the outcome of such struggles was by no means assured.

Today we celebrate progress in the long, slow history of our effort to achieve, in fact, the social decency we profess; we celebrate signal victories in the war against evil. But the war is not won. The victories we cheer do not end what John P. Roche has called so well "The Quest for the Dream:" that dream of freedom for every man. It is a dream of many colors. None of us can evade it entirely, or indefinitely. It includes our commitment to the ideal of libertarian dignity protected by law, but so respected by custom and opinion that it no longer needs the protection of law.

The explosive development of our law of civil rights during this generation has outstripped the reach of judge-made law, although law made by judges in a common law way will continue to be a factor of primary importance in the evolution of our lib-

erties. But the political branches of the Government, and many classes of private bodies and associations, have been willing for far too long to leave the bulk of the task to the judges. Now, elected officials and private associations must be led by public opinion to take their share of responsibility for the condition of freedom. At this point, social and political action, public and private, is needed on a far wider scale than any we have yet achieved if we are to fulfill the just demands of our people, and the plain intentment of the law.

During the last decade, responding to the lead of the Supreme Court, the political process and public opinion have begun to break out of the chrysalis of their passivity. The Nation has soberly begun to realize the magnitude of the social changes which will be required to make good our constitutional promises to the Negro. But equality for the Negro as a citizen and as a human being is not the only area of our social behavior where our performance falls short of our professions. In other branches of our law and custom touching on human rights, the challenge to our conscience is quite as acute, although the political power behind the challenge is weaker.

We must continue to labor for improvement of the law, but above all for its enforcement. There is need for new programs, new institutions, new policies, and new doctrines; need to carry our quest for the dream forward in the courts, in Congress, and in other forums where the law is made. And we need the will and spark to carry the quest forward from the courts and the law books into every police station and every slum of the Nation, into every school board, and bar association, every church and synagogue, every college and university, every real estate board and voting booth, and every jury panel.

For most of our history as a nation, we have been content to close our eyes to wide gaps between our official creed and social reality. We have nailed our sacred documents to the door—the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution—and we have genuflected when we passed them, but we callously tolerated their betrayal, or their most haphazard enforcement, in every area of their application to human rights and civic privileges.

In the 19th century, in a pattern of ebb and flow, the Supreme Court developed the tools and accumulated the power which it has been using with such mastery in our time. Then as now, our minds were dominated by the vista of equality. But our social life was marred by habits of repression and restriction.

In this century, at an accelerating pace, we have witnessed a remarkable transformation. American society has made great progress toward social justice; and the law, and lawyers, have played a constructive role. But the progress is not a victory of law alone. It did not take place only because imaginative lawyers and creative judges spun eloquent webs of words in the courts and in the law books. They did that, of course, a long and honorable line of them—Clarence Darrow and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Erskine Darrow and Arthur Garfield Hays, Walter Pollak, Brandeis, Hughes and many others whose example is part of our heritage. But a number of forces, and a number of historical experiences, made it possible for their views to gain steadily in strength.

Since the turn of the century, when the progressive movement began to temper the social blindness of the gilded age, the American people have debated, considered, resisted and gradually absorbed a series of proposals put forward by the courts, and particularly by the Supreme Court of the United States, as interpretations and applications of the Constitution. The 14th amendment was read to apply the Bill of Rights to the States. State criminal pro-